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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37-53).

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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882
262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an ado-
252 lescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities.
602 While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[a] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[a] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another lee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He does not plant this section, but calls on a brother to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his brother's garden.

After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a good-will feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Tcuma* or *Mwjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[151] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
• 222 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[326] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
103 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother or uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[479] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[496] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife cooperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
• [262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[280] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he [262] eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [678] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[762] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[32] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[32] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

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121 86 teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following [262] [177] case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[30] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[113] [30] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

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826 Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow some-
[157] one to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache,
or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even be-
come seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not
[856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[3] When the age-grade
initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not
attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow
• [262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is
warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish
may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that
if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow
he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the ani-
mal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This
warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting.
An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he
become sick, for the seed and produce have become contami-
nated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here,
262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles-
562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a
252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in
processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife,
to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi-
869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have
823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk-
123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a
waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it
for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap
heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, how-
ever, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walk-
ing stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing
this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity.
The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a
distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by
Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[3] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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the warning about walking abroad during the night. On the way home they heard a strange noise, took it to be a ghost, stopped in their tracks, and yelled for help. War and others, who were gossiping in the house tamberan, heard their cries and shouted back instructions to make a dash for the house tamberan. They did this and thus escaped what they believed was imminent danger. The chance occurrence of a strange noise had operated on this occasion to strengthen the fear of walking abroad at night.

An episode which involved Wof illustrates how chance can strengthen sorcery beliefs. He came home one day to find that someone had tampered with his store of sago flour. Believing that someone had taken flour in order to sorcerize him, he asked his first wife if she knew who could have done it. She replied that she had seen his second wife in that part of the room and that it was undoubtedly she who had stolen the food in order to sorcerize him. When Wof accused the younger woman, she denied it. The next day Wof came to my house and asked me if I had any medicine against sorcery, for he felt sick. He said that his head and stomach ached and he knew that someone was trying to sorcerize him. Whether Wof's illness was an attack of malaria, psychological depression resulting from repressed *anger at his wives*, or some other psychic or physical disturbance, it strengthened his belief in the efficacy of sorcery. He probably guarded his food stores more carefully thereafter.[10]

Chance can operate to reinforce the habit of heeding a warning about blood. Children who let blood from their penises do grow up; after phlebotomy has been practiced pains eventually disappear; and women who menstruate and men who let blood from themselves remain healthy. The following case also illustrates how chance may operate to support the belief in blood contamination. Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma our regular shoot boy left and we appointed Mes to take his place. Previously he had helped around our house and had eaten whatever pigeon meat was

[10] It was, indeed, not long after this that he scolded Ham for walking about his porch and accused him of being a thief of sorcery material.

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121 869 [262] left over from our table. When he became shoot boy the question arose as to whether he could still eat this meat since he killed it himself. Gwiyap was of the opinion that since he killed the birds with a gun rather than with a spear or arrow his blood would not be transferred and it would be perfectly safe to eat the meat. Yat, his *paternal uncle*, disagreed with this opinion, and held that it would be dangerous. Gwiyap then argued that the former shoot boy had eaten birds that he had shot without getting sick. Yat countered that, although he did not get sick, he had missed many shots and that this was probably due to his having eaten his own kill. Mes decided to heed his *uncle's* warning and ate no more pigeon meat. It happened that Mes was a very good shot and missed extremely few birds. He explained his accuracy as proof of the wisdom of heeding his *uncle's* warning.

Certain forces operate against heeding unrealistic warnings in Kwoma society. One of the most important of these is the fatigue drive. This drive exerts a constant pressure on the pupil not to run away from ghosts, not to bother to avoid the dwelling place of *marsalai*, to be careless about his food leavings, and not to go to the trouble of gathering nettles to scrape his penis to renew his blood. In other words his fears of the supernatural must be strong enough to *overcome his* indolence. Furthermore, the avoidance of supernatural dangers is frequently incompatible with the satisfaction of some other drive. When Yat discovered that he had cleared his garden too near a *marsalai's* dwelling place, his fear of disturbing the *marsalai* was opposed by his need to raise vegetables in a convenient place in order to satisfy his hunger. Similarly, when a pupil scrapes his penis or practices phlebotomy to let out bad blood these acts are opposed by the pain which they cause; when he does not eat a pig he has killed or yams he has planted, these renunciations are opposed by his hunger for these foods. Likewise a pupil's avoidance of ghosts and fear of sorcery often force him to give up satisfactions which he might otherwise attain.

In contrast to realistic warnings, when a pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning, the pain, except by chance, does

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121 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured
869 just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he
178 ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago
869 flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they
178 started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warn-
252 ing and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the process
262 of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and *crushing* and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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121 The distribution of pork to rela-
82 tives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a
182 person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of
[602] blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus
• [262] strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally,
[582] the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

869 Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood
121 are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories
182 which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

121 Although the above analysis gives an answer to the ques-
172 tion of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises
178 an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division
[123] of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

349 [177] coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 262 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 123 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us. [417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the [346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the [198] front courtcould not see the sacred altar.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bongus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bongus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bongus was the name of another tribe.

however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination-- mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amusement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which [133] is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 [415] are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [323] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty [439] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cassowary fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kim and Mar were homicides; each had killed an Urumbum). After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urumbum) had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[276] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[562]

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[202] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water sac and
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singing
is finished.

796 The men return to the singing and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Yambak on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their breasts are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambum. Only one or two old women are present."

392 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 11), I went down to Nar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[892] In this room sleep Nar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Nar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not enclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. There a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[402] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
000

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on oib history I went over the mountain to Kanyabumbura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Kanggua man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tambaran by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Har, of Kambina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwe (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a babel of advice from those men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [333] [334] uninitiated boys run for the house tambaran to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Kwoma
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Imyambum, or Tag. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory. Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

428
241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to beg one is a rare event. Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[967] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
260 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished [illegible] (carved figure) roughly
[322] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with
an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another
1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother,
held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts.
I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to
whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then
laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The
ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it
to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the
house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly
to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove.
He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his
finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then
asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a
piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham
who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but
the sweet heart of sugar cane excellent.

583 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his
wife; he snapped at her and at Suiyap's little sister for not making the
sago properly. Wof's wife sent May for the chop sticks to make the sago.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Ham came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

476
534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mas, and Owiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwate mbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

578 [123] been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not feel like working.

527 262 [754] [692] [252] [415] [262] [123] [123] Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 754 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sownambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betal pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Bwiyampa and Dowari and Mbwandaya had broken it and

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and
Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong
to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
[766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
[262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If
Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and
caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing
it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on May's
wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mam (mother's brother). It is also
War's mam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants
reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect
right to the sago since his mam told him he could cut it. He has decided that
what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of
obligation to pay mam at hant supviya. He is afraid that if he does not pay
War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He
thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark
from me which he considers to be enough.

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them men but use their name. His daughter, Mamba, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Tambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wanyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awe and Kwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [123] [262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] [262] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] [276] [522] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marck, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinuwa, Kwiya, Yamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who
628 had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It
883 was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Pit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Enlya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Enlya, Awa, and Afi went to
262 their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food
313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Enlya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch
123 anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was
[262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came

[583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and Mey would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight

[752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was

123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap

431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca

437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The

276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are

[262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Bwiye and Awe were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awe who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awe urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhuriyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinawa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afoksyisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted Imoyamb na me yato (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yonakwot from Kawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mas came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Qwiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>amuto mesni</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Mazuk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my <u>lake</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

192 [826] [262] [614] marinokw — the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.

nambeyé	ears
mboroweng	neck
nesuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
mogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé suf	anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siafkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Gwiyap:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup koup (kow fowf)

Informant: Gwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: May

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, sowf)

Informant: Ava

niiingf
(breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yantfhf
(lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish,snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwf
(dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: Hay

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

• 262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

3:00 p.m.- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Mar

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago

262
192 Soups and other foods

foyokw ndonkw (pork soup) - foyɨ (pork), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana), mɨngisa (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbir@kɨ (spinach) .

foyokw ndonkw-s@wɨ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyɨ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbir@kɨ (spinach), mɨngisɨ (leaf greens), s@wɨ (coconut).

wusiyɨ m@os huwutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinyɨ (a kind of vegetable), mbir@kɨ (spinach), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), owɨ (sago grubs), kwinyɨ (pork).

afos@wpɨ ndonkw (cassowary soup) -mbir@kɨ (spinach), s@wɨ (coconut), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] afondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngola plant (which produces motí, the red berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen about the house. They are called aonguesala.

[824] [192] [262] [192]

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.